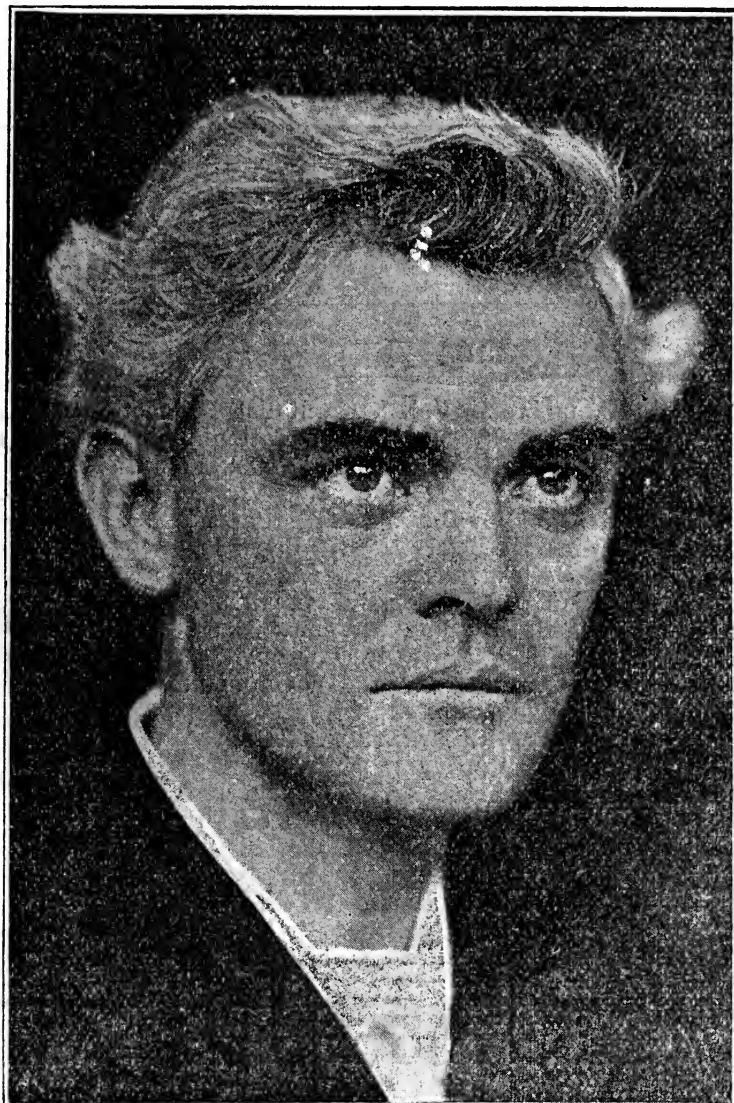


The New Theology and the Socialist Movement



By the
Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A.
(City Temple, London).

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“The Images ye have made of Me !”



“The results of sweating were to be found in the condition of the children of the sweated worker. Many of them died in infancy, and those who survived grew up ill-nourished, ill-clad, and ill-disciplined, to recruit the growing army of unemployed and unemployable, to fill the workhouse and the hospital, to lower the national physique, to debase the national *morale*.

Miss Constance Smith, at the Pan-Anglican Congress.

“Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
On the bodies and souls of living men ?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor ?

“With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced My sheep from their Father’s fold ;
I have heard the droppings of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years.”

• • • • •
These set He in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem,
For fear of defilement, “Lo, here,” said He,
“The images ye have made of Me !”

James Russel Lowell.

Christian Socialism.

Manifesto from One Hundred Ministers.

Over 100 clergymen and ministers of various denominations have signed a manifesto in response to a request from the Liverpool Clarion Club declaring Christian Socialism to be essentially the same as that held by Socialists generally. The manifesto states:—

“We, the undersigned ministers of Christian Churches of various denominations, desire to make this declaration in view of the widely circulated suggestion, which has been made in the Press and elsewhere, that the Socialism we believe in differs fundamentally from the Socialism advocated by the recognised Socialist organisations. We declare that the Socialism we believe in (sometimes called ‘Christian Socialism’) involves the public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and is, therefore, essentially the same Socialism as that which is held by Socialists throughout the world. Our Socialism is not less earnest nor less complete because it is inspired by our Christianity.

“The central teaching of Socialism is a matter of economics, and may, therefore, be advocated by all men, whether they be Christians or unbelievers; yet we feel, as ministers of the Christian faith, that this economic doctrine is in perfect harmony with our faith, and we believe that its advocacy is sanctioned, and, indeed, required of us, by the implications of our religion.”

Among the signatories are: The Rev. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple; the Rev. Dr. Clifford, Westbourne Grove Baptist, London; the Rev. Harry Youlden, Pembroke Baptist Chapel, Liverpool; the Rev. E. F. Forrest, Vicar of Pemberton, Wigan; the Rev. R. W. Cummings, Vicar of Owthorne, Yorks.; the Rev. E. J. Kirtlan, B.A., Wesleyan minister, London; the Hon. and Rev. James Adderley, Vicar of Saltley, Birmingham; the Rev. Frank Ballard, Wesleyan minister, Harrogate; the Rev. Herbert Bloye, Wesleyan minister, Battersea; the Rev. Herbert Dunnico, Vice-President of the Liverpool Free Church Council; the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, Vicar of St. Margaret’s, Twickenham; and the Rev. W. Tuckwell, late Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Rector of Waltham, Lincs.

What is The New Theology?

As a suitable preface to this lecture of Mr. Campbell's, we have thought it would be information to many if a short statement was included, outlining the main features of the New Theology.

We do not intend to write a treatise on present day theology, but merely to indicate some of the more salient implications of the religious teaching, of which Mr. Campbell is the central figure.

In a few words it may be described as rationalized Christianity. No student of our national religion can deny that in the course of centuries much has clung to our faith which is not of it.

What is the newer conception of God?

Let Mr. Campbell say, *

"Why this age long cosmic process? Why the struggle and pain, the supercession of lower by higher forms of being? . . . In the endeavour to find an answer I have found myself thrown back upon a philosophy which is older than Christianity itself. . . . At least five thousand years ago the fundamental principle of this philosophy was enumerated as clearly as it can be stated to-day. It is that this finite universe is one means to the self-expression and self-realization of God. To all eternity God is what He is, the unchanging reality which underlies all phenomena, but it will take Him to all eternity to manifest what He is, even to Himself. This, to my mind, is the more satisfactory hypothesis for an understanding of the cosmic process, but also supplies the only reasonable sanction for human morality."

This, it will be seen, is a different view of God than orthodoxy takes.

Now as to the new attitude towards Jesus Christ. The Rev G. T. Sadler, of Wimbledon, has summed it up as follows:—

"Jesus of Nazareth, in word and personality, fully expressed the life of holy love, a life both divine and human. Thus Jesus showed to men, the essential oneness of God and man. He called men to repent and be their true selves. In honestly accepting this Christ-life, man is forgiven his sins, *i.e.*, drawn into living fellowship with God, he can trust God as a child his father."

Again; on the same subject take Mr. Campbell's own words, "The death of Jesus was purely and simply a murder. . . . But when the spirit of Jesus is reproduced, as it was sure to be

*(Speaking at Penmawnmawr Summer School.)

by an act of complete self-sacrifice, you see the Atonement of Jesus going on. . . . Exactly what Jesus did in the giving of His life to mankind here, ending with His crucifixion on Calvary, we, His servants are bound to do too, and wherever life is being laid down in the service of love, the Atonement is going on—the eternal Christ manifesting Himself on the field of time. What is it that is saving the world to-day? It is love accepting suffering, that it may win men from selfishness and ignorance."

So we see a different view of Christ here. He is an example, rather than a God, a Leader first, then—*ipso facto*—a Saviour.

It has been said that the implications of the New Theology are an encouragement to sin. But Mr. Campbell says:—

"We instinctively reverence moral heroism, and moral heroism is impossible without some measure of moral freedom. I repeat, then, that I reject Pantheism because it implies determinism. I accept the antinomy implied in the affirmation of moral freedom, and in so doing I know I have behind me all the higher experience of mankind."

On the same subject Mr. Campbell is again no less emphatic.

"There is no man in this world to-day who can produce a case, which means the absolute overthrow of the determinist argument. On the other hand, we know well enough, as Professor Lecky says, our own experience, and the higher we rise, the stronger does the effect of that experience become. No argument will ever shake our conviction that we have some power, however limited, of individual self-direction and self-control. There is the antinomy, I freely confess it."

The Immanence of God is defined by Mr. Campbell in the following passage from his sermon on this subject.

"We have to put our lives back in the Infinite, whence they came, and the path of love is the path of self-realization, which is oneness with the infinite being of God."

Such are the main features of the New Theology. They are not complete, and never will be, for each live mind must make his own Theology. The implications arising, however, from this conception of Christianity, such as prayer, morality, eternal life, and a more liberal interpretation of the Scriptures make up a religion which is fast gaining ground, because it appeals alike to the intellect and the heart.

"If the writer of this text (Rev. 6-6.) could come back among us," says Mr. Campbell, "he would speak harshly, for he would be shocked and scandalised to find that Christianity had not done more than it has to regenerate the world, he would detect at once the false note in our conventional preaching and praying, he would tell us that it was all nonsense, that men needed to be saved from the wrath of God in the next world, he would say that they needed to be saved from one another in this."

The New Theology and the Socialist Movement.

The following lecture was delivered to a crowded meeting of the Liverpool I.L.P. on March 25th, 1907.

It was the first address delivered by Mr. Campbell at a Socialist meeting, and caused widespread interest among social reformers.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Mr. J. Bruce Glasier attended as representatives of the National I.L.P., and Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., the Chairman of the National I.L.P., who was unable to be present, wrote :

"Mr. Campbell's adherence to the principles of our party is one further proof that we do not appeal to narrow-class interests or prejudices, but that we aim at a state of society which commends itself to conscientious and rational people, irrespective altogether of social status. It has always been a puzzle to me how men who listen with approval to the ethical doctrines of the gospels upon a Sunday can be so little influenced in their conduct on the secular days of the week by what they hear (and, I suppose, feel) on the one sacred day. The reason, I suppose, is that so much of our religious profession is purely formal, and belongs to the lip rather than to the heart. Mr. Campbell is doing two pieces of good service to the country. The first is his stirring up of thought by what he said in connection with the New Theology ; the second he is to do on the 25th, by boldly associating himself with the men and women who have been honestly striving for these many years to awaken anew the social conscience of the country, and to make that awakened conscience the inspiration and guide in political policy."

There were many ministers and other representative men and women on the platform who had come to listen to Mr. Campbell.

After an allusion to some passing political matters, the chairman, Mr. Keir Hardie, said : I may, in a single word, welcome—and I am sure I do so in your name—the Rev. Mr. Campbell (hear, hear) to a Socialist platform. He is finding, as every live man before him has found, the moment he attempts to bring dead and decaying and putrifying creeds out of the dusthole where they are, and let the free play of criticism in upon them, that he is regarded as a danger to society, an enemy to society. You, my friends, who have known me, are aware that I have never conceived Socialism as either a barren or materialist creed. I want to see a form of

Religion built up of Simple Truths

that will appeal to the great human heart of the people. It is not only bread we are starving for ; we are starving for lack of sympathy, of affection, of human brotherhood. The things that wound most deeply are not the material things. It is when the heart is torn with sorrow and life is suffused with love that we

realise the value of the imperceptible things in life. The race cannot subsist without something appealing to the emotions and purifying life at its source and making it cleaner, healthier, and stronger. Mr. Campbell is doing that work, and doing it well, and I wish him God-speed in the work in which he is engaged. (Amen). To-night he comes, I believe, to put the seal of completeness upon his work. Religion has been too long divorced from life, and as a result the labour movement is despised, and I do not wonder at it. I congratulate the people of Liverpool upon having the first opportunity of hearing Mr. Campbell speaking on a Socialist platform. His coming into the movement will do much to set people thinking. We welcome him, and as Mr. MacDonald says, his presence here is one more proof that the Socialism of the I.L.P. is no narrow class movement. It is a great principle, which we invite all classes to come into and help to realise in the life of the nation. (Loud cheers.)

Rev. R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A.

(who was received with prolonged and most enthusiastic applause): Mr. Keir Hardie, ladies and gentlemen,—It is with considerable satisfaction that I appear upon this platform to-night and perform this very simple duty of supporting the resolution which has been read to this meeting. I may preface what I have to say by remarking that I think my appearance here to-night is due, directly or indirectly, to the utterance of a single sentence in the course of a sermon on "Collectivism and Christianity," preached by me in the City Temple, London. That sentence was, if I remember rightly, as follows:—"If I were not a preacher, with my lifework already marked out for me, I would join the ranks of the Labour Party, those pioneers of a golden age, and help them to fight their battle in the legislature." (Cheers.) That sentence excited a good deal of comment in certain quarters, and was discussed pretty freely in religious circles, and, to a lesser extent, in Socialistic circles too. One result of it was that the secretary of your I.L.P. in Liverpool wrote to ask me to come here and address a Labour meeting; and, consequently, I am here. (Cheers.) It is but seldom I have ever appeared on anything like a political platform before. Since that invitation was extended to me, what the newspapers are calling the

New Theology Controversy

has broken out, and the situation has changed a little. Partly as a consequence of the beginning of that controversy, our chairman of this evening wrote an article in the "Labour Leader," to which I have been a subscriber for a good while—(hear, hear)—and the editor was good enough to invite me to send a reply. In the course of Mr. Keir Hardie's article, though I cannot quote him exactly, he said something like this: That while he had no immediate concern with theology—he left the Churches to fight that out—he was interested in finding that my

teaching apparently, whether theological or not, had for its logical resultant an acceptance of Socialism. Well, Mr. Keir Hardie was perfectly right.

I am a Socialist.

because I am a Christian, as I understand the word. (Cheers.) I have been driven to that position by the sheer logic of my own Gospel. (Hear, hear.) As I have frankly admitted to Mr. Keir Hardie in private, I know comparatively little of the life of the workers of this country from the inside, but I know a good deal from a careful and sympathetic observation of the social problem from without; and my own historical study, which has been fairly thorough—(laughter and cheers)—you Liverpool people are very quick to take a point—my historical study: I did not say theological—(renewed laughter)—which has been fairly thorough, at any rate since I became a member of Oxford University, has taught me this: That Christianity began as a social gospel, pure and simple. (Cheers.) The more one investigated Christian origins the more one became convinced that the Church of Jesus, as we know it to-day, has somehow got away from her moorings—(hear, hear)—and has—I won't say forgotten her true commission, but mixed it up with a good many other things which have helped to vitiate it.

I acknowledge to-night the courtesy of the welcome you have extended to me, and will you allow me to remark in doing so that I have been

Impressed and Touched

by one thing more than anything else during the New Theology controversy, and it is this: That at the moment when I ceased to be a favourite with the Churches, and when, as a matter of fact, a great many of the Churches closed their doors upon me—("Shame!")—I don't want to mislead you, or pose as a martyr; they have not all done that; but when, I say, a great many of the Churches closed their doors upon me, the Labour Party has spontaneously offered its platform—(cheers)—and not only in Liverpool, let me say, but from every part of the country invitations of a similar character, in England, Scotland, and Wales, have been reaching me from the Labour Party. I cannot respond to them all. I do not know where I will go next, but I can promise you, at least, that I shall not forget the simple fact that your doors were thrown open to a pilgrim and a stranger—(cheers)—and that the circumstances which have thrust us into comradeship shall keep us together. (Cheers.)

After that perhaps you will be a little surprised to hear that my main object in coming to the Hope Hall to-night has been to try to plead with you, and perhaps with a few who will read my words afterwards, for

A Closer Understanding

between the Independent Labour Party and the progressive

element in the Christian Churches (hear, hear), especially the younger men in the Ministry. The Churches of to-day, as one of the speakers has already said, are none too cordial in your cause. They have been extremely apathetic in the past, but the Church of to-morrow is yours. (Cheers.) I do not think I know a single young minister in the Free Churches of England who is not as keenly in earnest upon the question of social reform as our chairman of to-night or any of you. (Cheers.) They are only trying to see their way, and I am doing my best to help them to see it. More and more of them are coming to see that it is their duty as Christian ministers to take their stand upon the same platform as yourselves, no matter by what name they call themselves. And, remember, I am not claiming that that is so in the Free Churches only or in any denomination in particular. It is true of that wing of the Church of England which is represented by Bishop Gore. (Hear, hear.) It is true of such men as my friend, the Rev. J. G. Adderley. (Hear, hear.) It is true of an increasing number of the younger men among the High Broad clergy of the Church of England. Will you permit me to add that it is true also of not a few of the Roman Catholic clergy. (Hear, hear.) In point of fact, what I call the New Theology is the

Theology of Your Movement ;

and it is not the theology of one particular man, but in its main bearing it is the theology of Catholic and Protestant alike. It is the theology of the Kingdom of God. (Cheers.)

I can quite imagine, Mr. Hardie, that some of those who are listening to me at this point may be saying to themselves : "Well, if that fellow is going to begin to talk theology we are going home." ("Oh, no !") Do you know, gentlemen, I am beginning to find out that I can make almost anybody listen to theology—(cheers)—and that, apparently, whether I am present or absent, a great many people in this country who have never talked theology before are talking it now. (Cheers.) I heard

A Most Amusing Thing

in this regard while I was staying at the pretty little town of Torrington, in Devon, a few weeks ago. My host, who happens to be in sympathy with the New Theology, told me the following little anecdote, for which he is willing to vouch—that in the public-house the night before there was a ferocious wrangle about theology—(loud laughter)—and that one gentleman, who had had a drop too much, and who was a defender of orthodoxy for the moment—(renewed laughter)—I cannot help being wickedly glad that it was not the New Theology man who had been imbibing too freely—said to an opponent who apparently was defending my view of things, "Well, it is a good thing for you there is a New Theology. It's the only chance you will ever have of getting into heaven !" (Cheers and laughter.) Well, gentlemen, when it comes to that, I think we

can say that there is a chance of making almost anybody listen to a disquisition on theology. I am going to dare to inflict one on you now. I am going to quote to you a paragraph which appears to me to contain the very essence of

The Theology of Socialism.

It was written by the Rev. Dr. Philip Snowden. (Cheers and laughter.) I confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity on that gentleman here and now on account of the following:—

“ Socialism will justify God’s ways to men. That Divine instinct of affection in human nature has, through all the ages, rebelled against the merciless slaughter of the weak. For

Though Nature, red in tooth and claw,
With raving shrieks against our creed,
We felt that God is love indeed,
And Love creation’s final law.

And now Socialism comes as the angel of light, bearing to mankind this message of truth. Socialism, equipped with all the learning of the ages, takes up the ripest teaching of the poet, the philosopher, the economist, the scientist, the historian, and joins the conclusions of each together into one harmonious whole, and tells us that the weak are necessary, the uncomely are not to be despised; that not competition, but the co-operation of all is the law of life—(cheers)—and now we know that suffering, misery, and poverty are a violation of God’s will; now we know that the fulness of time has come for us to cast the last relic of our fallen nature from us, and to follow the beckoning angel who is waiting to lead us back through the gates of paradise into an Eden of intellectual joy.” (Cheers.) By your reception of that bit of true eloquence, because inspired by true feeling, I see that

You are all Theologians.

But I am always saying that. Why, there is not one man who is in earnest about religious experience who is not a theologian. For, mind you this, gentlemen, theology is only a man’s thinking about his religion—that is all. (Hear, hear.) And a religion that won’t bear thinking about is not worth having. (Cheers.) No sooner does a man begin to think about his religion, or even about religion, whether it is his or not, then he is a theologian. Robert Blatchford has a theology. (Cheers.) And, you know, I am rather keen on Robert Blatchford. I have an impression that he has done high service for England. (Loud cheers.) He has preached the Kingdom of God—(hear, hear)—and as my friend, Dr. Horton, said in Manchester a year or two ago to the Free Church Council, the man who wrote “Merrie England” had the moral passion of Christianity in him, no matter by what name he calls himself. (Cheers.) Now, by the New Theology I mean the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. Mr. Keir Hardie has hinted to you that I have been taking certain

musty dogmas out of their place of security, and letting the light of criticism fall upon them. I hope I have been doing more than that. (Hear, hear.) I have been trying to get at the moral values that underlie our use of venerable terms. (Hear, hear.) Here is one :

The Word "Gospel."

It is an old Saxon word—Goodspell, good news. If you have any good news to tell it is a gospel. (Hear, hear.) What do I mean by the kingdom of God? What do we mean by the Church? Why, gentlemen, I will undertake to prove that in the original meaning of those terms you and I are absolutely agreed at this moment and neither of us needs to convert the other. (Hear, hear.) When Jesus came preaching to the people on the hill sides of beautiful Galilee nineteen hundred years ago, He came preaching, so the New Testament tells us, in plain language, the good news of the kingdom of God. Well, Jesus did not invent that term, He found it ready to His hand. Everybody was talking about the kingdom of God then just as we are talking about women's suffrage now. Jesus thought He had something to say about the kingdom of God, and He proceeded to say it : and in the end they crucified Him for it. ("And they would again !") I don't know whether they would, thanks to nineteen centuries of His good news. They would find some way of making Him suffer, but perhaps not that way. Probably they would write newspaper articles about Him. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, I say, everybody was talking about the kingdom of God. What did they mean? And then let me ask, What did Jesus mean? The Jewish people had been talking about the kingdom of God a long while before He was born, and it came about this way. They were an oppressed people, a suffering people, a poverty-stricken people ; they were ground under the heel of a world wide empire, the empire of Rome. They did not like it: who would? They had to pay taxes to the foreigner, and it was galling and humiliating to their national pride. Well, whenever that or anything like it happens to a nation there is always a tendency for that nation to look back upon

Earlier and Better Days,

and they tend to idealise those better days a little. It is what Irishmen are doing now. There was a time, you know, when the people of Ireland were more civilised than the people of England, and they sent their preachers and teachers to us, and our forefathers sent their sons to be trained in Irish seminaries. When an Irishman looks back to-day to a golden age, he looks back to a time like that, and perhaps he is entitled to—well, enlarge upon it, and to present it in somewhat rosy colours. The Jews were doing just that when Jesus came. The day they looked back upon was David's day. David seems to have been a great man and a great king, but he

was not just the desirable person that later Judaism made him out to be, and his kingdom was not quite what they thought it was. But whenever they spoke about David's day they said "Ah, that was a fine time ! That was a time, you know, when justice was done to the poor ; when you could have hung gold ornaments on the public walls and nobody would have touched them. Yes. David was a great man—a man after God's own heart—and the kingdom over which he ruled was a kingdom of God." So they began to look forward to a time when that kingdom would come again, and be better even than it was in David's day. They thought that it would come suddenly and completely by some supernatural act of interference on the part of God ; that all the enemies of Israel and those who had done her hurt would be put to confusion ; the sceptre would be snatched out of the hand of Cæsar and put in the hand of a Jewish prince. They said some prince would come, descended from David's line, and he would rule over the whole world, and the Jews would be very important people in his kingdom, for the capital would be Jerusalem. That was their idea of the kingdom of God. They were waiting for it, looking for it, talking about it. God would bring it about quite suddenly, and the Messiah would be a kind of hero-king.

Then Jesus Came,

and He gathered them around Him on the hill sides of Galilee, and this is the way He talked, "Don't you imagine that the Kingdom of God is coming like a thunder-clap, because it is not. Don't you think that simply because you are descended from Abraham you are going to be favourites of Heaven, because you are not. The Kingdom of God is a kingdom of love—a kingdom of universal brotherhood, a kingdom where every man deals justly with his neighbour. It simply means the reign of God in the hearts of men." (Cheers.) Then He went on to say, "Begin here and now to expect it, and work for it, and pray for it, 'Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven. Thy kingdom come.'" "Say not, Lo here, neither, Lo there. Behold, the kingdom of God is within you." But when Jesus saw that the people who were in high places in His day were crushing others down, and actually doing it in the name of Divine authority, He scorned them, and the scathing words He uttered took them by surprise. Why, the poor Jewish peasants were accustomed to truckle to the theologian and such like, because they were strong, and because they had rule and dominion in this ancient land. But Jesus did not spare them. How astonished they must have been when that Galilean in homespun stood up before them and said, "Ye serpents ! Ye generation of vipers ! Hypocrites ! Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees !" When we speak about "the meek and lowly Jesus" we must not forget that there was another side, and a side that I am glad was there. The Jesus who was gentle with little children and erring women was the

Jesus out of whose presence canting hypocrites and truculent ecclesiastics slunk abashed and confused. By-and-by they said they had got to put an end to that kind of thing, and both people and priests were disappointed with Jesus because He would not lead them against the Romans and institute a kingdom brought about by violence and blood. They nailed Jesus on a wooden cross, which was there way of putting him to death on a gibbet, simply and solely because He would not fight to bring in the kingdom of righteousness. When He was gone a few people who had loved Him well saw more plainly what He meant when He was in their midst, and they began to preach the same thing. They held together in doing it, and they called themselves the Society of Jesus, the Ecclesia of Jesus. Now that very word has come to stink in your nostrils. If there is any hateful word to an assembly of working men it is "ecclesiastic." (Laughter.) Would you be very much surprised if I were to tell you that that word originally meant the Labour party? (Cheers.) But it did. These Galilean fishermen, and those who thought with them, men who had followed Jesus and believed that Jesus was right, came together, and the name of their coming-together was the name that the Greeks used to describe an assembly of people who had met to determine upon something for the public good. That word was "ecclesia." It only meant society, and

The "Ecclesia" of Jesus

was the beginning of the Church of Jesus, as it has now come to be called. "Church" means society, assembly, organisation, and that society, assembly, organisation of the first Christian century was what the Labour party is now—(hear, hear)—the organisation that meant to try to realise the Kingdom of God. (Cheers.) To be perfectly frank with you, that society made a few mistakes. For one thing, even the greatest among them thought that Jesus would come back some day on the clouds of heaven, and proceed to judge everybody that had been living in a wrong way, and the Kingdom of God would be inaugurated at once with a supernatural power. Still they went on preaching that the Kingdom of God was the reign of love, only it would be inaugurated with a general judgment. They did not talk about heaven, because they did not think of any heaven except the heaven here. Most of them seem to have thought that they would go on living here, there would be no more death; and that is the meaning of that glorious sentence in the Book of Revelation: "I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the dwelling-place of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death"—they actually meant it—"neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain:

for the former things are passed away." That is what they meant by the Kingdom of God. Never mind the little mistake as to how it was to come about, and how quickly. Nineteen centuries have passed, and it has not quite come yet. But you realise now where the true Church is to be found. All the supernaturalism of the Churches, all the preaching about getting men into heaven, is an exceeding of her commission. The Church did not begin that way at all. It began by proclaiming the good news of the Kingdom of God, the universal Brotherhood under the universal Fatherhood. It was not a question of getting men into heaven ; the Church has nothing whatever to do with that ; it was a question of

Getting Heaven into Men.

(Loud cheers.) I imagine, gentlemen, it would take me a good while to convince the theologian that that is so, and you will have to give me a little bit of a push. (Cheers.) But if you are looking about for the Church of Jesus to-day, without being in a hurry to excommunicate anybody, I think you would have to admit that the Labour Party is, in the original sense of the word, a true Church. (Hear, hear.) No matter what profession of faith individual members of this party may hold, if you are an organisation existing clearly and distinctly for the one definite object of realising the Kingdom of God, you are a true Church, as the Christians of the first century would have understood the word. But that does not mean that you should drive out of the Church anybody who is trying to live a clean life. Your business is not excommunication : you have had too much of that yourself. I would let the Pope in. (Hear, hear.) The Pope is not a bad fellow ; I have had a talk to him myself, and I liked him very much.

Well, gentlemen, now that I have defined my position, in that the Labour Party itself is a true church, will you allow me to say that my theology, after all, turns out to be in the main your theology ; but that does not necessarily mean that I accept every expedient that you may recommend for the realisation of your programme. Probably I would accept most of what Mr. Keir Hardie wants—I have not investigated the matter thoroughly yet—but let me name one or two things on which I have already spoken with as much clearness as I could command. I believe that the only permanent solution of the education difficulty is a secular one. (Loud cheers.) I have been forced to that conclusion for two reasons :—First, that the ecclesiastics cannot agree, and never will ; and, second, because I want to see the Kingdom of God come more speedily than dogma will ever bring it. I want to see

Dogma Driven Out of the Schools of the People.

and moral instruction put in its place. (Cheers.) Another thing I rejoice to see in your programme is your demand for the municipalisation of the drink traffic, not because it is good, but

because it is an evil. I hope the day will come when the exercise of the control of the people over that particular traffic will lead to its entire elimination from the land. (Cheers.) Then I want to pay my tribute to you as a party, and to your leader in particular, for your courage and manliness in taking up the question of Women's Suffrage. (Cheers.) You are not afraid of being laughed at. All good movements begin that way. Shall I tell you how this subject of Women's Suffrage comes home to me? I have a Parliamentary vote; my gardener has a Parliamentary vote. I am also a farmer incidentally, and I have to have two or three people to look after my farm; each of these has a vote. But it is more than the life of any one of us is worth to vote any other way than the way my wife wants. (Cheers and laughter, in which Mrs. Campbell, who was seated on the platform, heartily joined.) Therefore I demand a vote for women on the same terms as for men, because I want to be free to exercise my own. (Renewed laughter.) Gentlemen, there is only one thing more I want to say to you before I sit down. ("Go on!") It is the most serious of all the points I have wanted to drive home to-night. I want to quote to you two paragraphs from a sermon preached by me to my own young men last night. I do it with a double object. I want you to see what I am saying to my young men, what they are listening to, and what I believe an increasing number of the young men—including the young ministers of the Churches—are willingly listening to to-day. And, secondly, I want you to see your movement from the standpoint of a man who believes in God. (Hear, hear.) What is the Spirit of God saying to England and the world to-day? Is it not plain to every interested and morally earnest observer that the

Note of Divine Action

to-day is the desire for the realisation of social justice and universal brotherhood? (Cheers.) If it is not that, then I do not know what it is. Men everywhere are beginning to find out that if they believe in the truth as it is in Jesus, they believe in the abolition of poverty, physical misery, and the moral degradation consequent upon the unequal distribution of the means of human existence on this planet. (Cheers.) When we say that we believe in Jesus we imply that we believe in brotherly love, and when we permit ourselves to think clearly, which is comparatively seldom the case, we see that brotherly love implies the abolition of everything that puts a barrier of privilege between one man and another. Put the matter to yourselves in the most vivid and direct way possible. (Here I ask you to remember that I was speaking to young professional men, clerks, shopmen, university men, comparatively few of them artisans.) Try to imagine that in your own particular family circle one child has all the desirable things of this life, and all the others have to go without unless he chooses to give to them. They have to be up early and late to work for him. He may work if he chooses, giving orders

to the rest, but if he does not so please, he does not do it. He can begin when he likes and leave off when he likes. He is not tied by the foot to one narrow range of duties and opportunities like his brothers and sisters. If he chooses he can travel all over the world, inform his mind, and make a change of scene and occupation a continual joy. His horizon is far wider than that of the others in the same family, and therefore he possesses a far deeper acquaintance with life than they do. But understand, he has all these advantages simply and solely because the others work for him, developing a patrimony which they have inherited from a common parentage. Would you not feel the situation to be intolerable if it came as near home as that? Would you not expect the unprivileged members of that family to hate this particular member of it, and to protest against this power of making use of their bondage for his own benefit? Such a situation would be good neither for him nor for them. If he were to keep on assuring them that the whole system was in accordance with the natural order of things and that it was their moral duty to be humble and unworldly and submit to it, you would scorn him. (Hear, hear.) If he began to preach about Jesus to you, you would tell him he

Did Not Know Much About Jesus.

If he became the patron and director of some mission or society whose avowed object was to get the rest of you to believe something or other which would secure to you in a future life the happiness he was keeping back from you here, you would call him a selfish hypocrite. (Loud cheers.) But that is precisely what some noble lords are doing to-day—(hear, hear)—and I do not believe that they are consciously hypocrites at all. They have simply dropped into that way of thinking that they know what Christianity is. They have got to begin at the beginning again. I am quite sure, I say, that this is what you would do if the matter came as closely home to you as I have now indicated.

But this is just how things are already in our modern civilisation. The moral ideal means little less than the extension of the family tie, the mutual obligations and responsibilities of the home circle, to the life of mankind as a whole. Here we have the vast army of the unprivileged on the one side, and their more fortunate brothers and sisters on the other. How are the former likely to feel about it when once they come to see the situation as it really is? Well, that is what they are coming to see, and soon it will be impossible to hoodwink the most foolish of them any longer. (Hear, hear.) There is taking place a great uprising of thought and feeling on the part of the workers of the civilised world, a movement fraught with mighty things for the near future. This movement is in the direction of universal peace and brotherhood. (Hear, hear.) It is the recognition that the community as a whole is responsible for the well-being of every individual member of it, and that every individual member ought

to have the opportunity of making the most of himself for the sake of the whole. If ever we could reach and achieve this ideal the world would become one family in God, and the greater part of its sorrow and suffering would vanish away for ever. This movement is already international. It is the true Catholic Church, although it does not know itself by that name. (Hear, hear.) What is to become of it? Up to the present it has hardly understood itself sufficiently to be able to see that it is, above all other movements, the main stream of the holy purpose of God for this age. It has actually developed in antagonism to the churches, as we have them at present, and in many quarters has avowed itself to be materialistic. This tendency has been most marked perhaps in France and Germany, but we have had some of it in England too. For instance, the

Editor of the "Clarion,"

one of the most important of the moral forces of the day—(hear, hear)—denies all belief in God and Immortality, as a Christian would understand those terms. Well, now, here is one of the most deplorable perversions that have ever taken place in human history, and the Church of Christ is largely to blame for it. Few Christians seem to understand that the word "church" only means the society for the realisation of the kingdom of God, and that originally, in purpose and aspiration, the Church of Jesus was what the Labour Party is now. It came into existence for that object, and for nothing else. The first Christians knew quite well what they wanted and what the world needed. They saw that the world was unhappy, and that it need not be unhappy if only it would accept the ideal of Jesus with perfect unselfishness as between man and man. They mixed up this ideal with some other things. But that does not matter much. They never so much as thought of preaching about the next world and the duty of believing something which would secure a place in heaven. A primitive Christian would have been astonished beyond measure to hear the evangelistic appeals which are made from some Christian pulpits to-day. He would wonder what the kind of thing was that he had run up against. He would not understand it at all. He would recognise that his true affinity was not with that kind of thing, but with those earnest spirits who believe in the possibility of realising the kingdom of God on this side of the tomb. (Hear, hear.) He would see in them the true descendants of the original Church of Jesus.

That is what I said to my young men last night. The young men know what it means, and the moral passion of the young men of England is on the side of the social movement to-day (Cheers.)

There's a light about to break ;
There's a day about to dawn ;
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way. (Loud applause.)

Pan-Anglican Congress Echoes.

5

"A true Socialism is the necessary result of a sound Christianity."—
F. D. MAURICE, 1849.

"The Christian Church is bound to aid every wise endeavour which has for its object the material and moral welfare of the poor. . . . the clergy should show how much of what is good and true in Socialism is to be found in the precepts of Christ."—PAN-ANGLICAN CONGRESS, 1888.

"There is nothing in the socialistic idea of the constitution of society which is antagonistic to Christianity, its main idea is closely allied to the Christian idea. . . . The socialistic movement is based upon a great demand for justice in human life. It notes the injustice in the actual division of the profits of industry, both present and inherited."—DR. GORE, Bishop of Birmingham.

"When Professor Wagner said to the Socialists, 'Your system would require men to be angels,' and the Socialists replied that Socialism would make them angels, this reply is undoubtedly to be rejected; but did not the professor's objection involve a fatal admission? If Socialism would require men to be angels, or at least good, unselfish men, then the only conclusion to be drawn is that Socialism is Christian; and we should labour for its adoption as soon as possible."—REV. C. B. WILMER.

"How was it that wherever Western civilisation went Christian men and women were found in revolt against it? . . . They saw that the present conditions were founded not on moral principles, but on the domination of blind economic power. Socialism would find a remedy by transferring the enormous power of capital from private hands into the hands of society. Poverty was not a necessity, but a disease."—REV. A. J. CARLYLE, Oxford University.

"I ask on what authority is based the idea that Christianity had no economic doctrine, but must remain neutral to all social systems and political organisation. When the 5000 hungered in the wilderness, Christ did not say 'Labour not for the meat which perisheth.' He fed them. . . . Christianity must be manifest in the social system as a system. It was the result of human choice and human choice could modify it. No Christian could rest satisfied with a system that was competitive, and, therefore, self-seeking. If it were true to say that to get the best out of a man you must appeal to his self-interest, then Christ was wrong."—MR. WILLIAM TEMPLE (son of the late Archbishop).

"My home is in the heart of the Pudsey Division, which has sent a message not only to the world, but to the Church. The Socialist candidate has polled 1200 votes. All over the north we are face to face with a rising tide which it is impossible permanently to withstand. Why will men believe that Socialists are necessarily insincere agitators, appealing to the cupidity of the working classes? They are, as a fact, full of divine optimism and enthusiasm for the common weal. These men are the prophets to whom the future belonged. Socialism must be given a free field; it must be understood, and it must not be discounted because it was a Utopia."—REV. J. G. SIMPSON, Principal of Leeds Clergy School.

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